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MUSLIM AND PARSI CASTES AND TRIBES OF GUJARAT

James M. Campbell (Ed.)

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MUSLIM AND PARSI CASTES AND TRIBES OF GUJARAT

James M. Campbell (Ed.)



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Muslim & Parsi Castes and Tribes of Gujarat

Pages scanned:

- 1) 36 to 57 : Khoja
- 2) 66 to 68 : Matia Kanbi
- 3) 76 to 77 : Momna

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EDITED BY
JAMES M. CAMPBELL



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THIS Volume on the people of Gujarát includes two parts: Part I. THE MUSALMÁNS contributed by Khán Bahádur Fazál-ullah Lutfullah Faridi, Assistant Collector of Customs, Bombay, and Part II. THE PÁRSIS, the joint contribution of the late Mr. Kharsedji Nasarvanji Seervai, J.P., a former Collector of Income Tax, Bombay, and Khán Bahádur Bamanji Behramji Patel also of Bombay.

JAMES M. CAMPBELL.

July 1899.

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GUJARÁT MUSALMÁNS
FROM THEIR
EARLIEST SETTLEMENT IN A.D. 634 TO
THE PRESENT PERIOD (A.D. 1898)
BY
KHÁN BAHÁDUR FAZALULLAH LUTFULLAH.

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GUJARÁT MUSALMÁNS.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN AND STRENGTH.

ACCORDING to the latest figures (A.D. 1891), Gujarát Musalmáns number about 1,113,000 or 10·07 per cent of the population. The following statement shows their distribution :

GUJARÁT MUSALMÁNS : DISTRIBUTION, 1891.

Chapter I.
Origin and
Strength.

DISTRICT.	PARTLY FOREIGN.				LOCAL CONVERTS.				TOTAL.
	Say- ads.	Shaikh. s.	Pa- tháns.	Mug- hals.	Me- mans.	Bohorás.	Kho- jás.	Others.	
Ahmedábád ...	3873	34,846	7186	339	1263	10,972	2608	29,400	90,487
Kaira ...	3263	11,015	10,617	791	143	13,520	5	38,087	77,443
Panch Maháls..	460	3359	2118	145	20	4216	9	8324	18,651
Broach ...	2432	14,235	4565	390	111	32,367	113	17,050	71,263
Surat ...	1550	27,670	2585	367	604	12,905	...	6626	52,307
Total ...	11,580	91,125	27,071	2032	2141	73,980	2735	99,487	310,151
States ...	37,080	46,588	38,670	4418	86,441	68,787	43,618	427,712	803,323
Total ..	98,669	137,713	65,741	6450	88,582	142,767	46,353	527,199	1,113,447

No separate details are available for the different States.

Gujarát Musalmáns may be divided into two main sections, those who have a foreign strain and those who are almost entirely of local Hindu descent.

From the middle of the seventh to the end of the eighteenth century foreign Musalmáns continued to find their way into Gujarát.¹

FOREIGNERS.

¹ Before the arrival of Muhammadan Arabs in India Arab settlements are recorded at Cheul Kalyán and Supára. Abul-Fida (A.D. 1273-1343) speaks of the Arabs being settled in Supára in very early times. Re naud's Abul-Fida, II, ccel.-xxxiv. In the time of Agatharcides B.C. 177-100 (Vincent's Periplus, 154) there were so many Arabs on the Malabár coast that the people had adopted the Arab religion. Ptolemy's map of India, A.D. 150, has a trace of the Arabs in the word *Melizigeris*, the latter part of the name being the Arabic *Jazirah* an island (Thána Gazetteer, XIII. 61 note 1). Before they adopted Islám the Arabs were mostly Sabians. Sale (Preliminary Discourse to the Kuraán, 10) says that though there were idol-worshippers Jews Magians and Christians among the Arabs of the "times of ignorance," the Sabian religion had overrun the whole (Arab) nation. The first expedition of Muhammadan Arabs to India, A.D. 636, was sent in the reign though not with the sanction of Umar the son of Khattáb, A.D. 634-643, the second Khalifah. When he heard that Uthmán-ath-Thakafi his governor of Bahrein had sent an expedition which returned successful from Hind the Khalifah wrote to Uthmán : "Brother of Thakif! thou hast placed the worm in the wood, but by Alláh! had any of my men been lost I should have killed an equal number from thy tribe" (Al-Bilázuri (A.D. 940).

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Chapter II.
Subdivisions.

HINDU
CONVERTS.
TRADERS.
Kara'ia's.

Kara'ia's, Potters, 68, are found in Ahmedabad city. They are descendants of Hindus of the Kumbhar or potter caste, and are of middle stature and fair. The men shave the head and wear the beard. The women are fair handsome and strong. They speak Gujarati. The men dress like poor Musalmans, and the women like Hindus, except that they wear silver bracelets of Musalman pattern. They sell but do not make pots. The men work as labourers messengers and house servants, the women mind the shop. The men are quiet honest and thrifty, but lazy and fond of opium. They are well-to-do, some of them very prosperous. They are Sunnis in name, paying little attention to religion; only a few of them knowing the Kuraan or caring to say their prayers. They marry among themselves and with the Kathiars or woodcutters. With the Kathiars they form one body *jamaat*, and have a headman to settle disputes. They have a class-lodge *vadi* in Ahmedabad, where during the mango season they hold feasts, enforcing attendance by fine. They have begun to send their children to Government schools, and, on the whole, are well-to-do.

Khoja's.

Khoja's,¹ Honourable Converts,² are scattered all over Gujarat in Kachh, Kathiavada, in the Portuguese territories of Diu and Daman, Ahmedabad, Baroda, and Surat. Beyond Gujarat Khoja's are to be found within the Presidency in Sindh, Thana, Khandesh, and Bombay, beyond the Presidency in Calcutta, the Panjab, Kashmir, Kabul, Dardistan, Nagar Hunza,³ and in the Persian Gulf, in Behrein, Bandar-Abbás, Mina, Linga, and Kism. In Turkish Arabia Khoja's occur in Karbala and Shah Najaf, and, in Arabia proper, in Maskat, Aden, and Sheher Mukalla. There is a flourishing colony of Khoja's in Zanzibar. Khoja's are of seven divisions⁴: First Khedwaya-Momna Khoja's; Second Gujar-Gupti Khoja's; Third Multani Khoja's; Fourth Atlat-Khurasani Khoja's; Fifth Mochi-Momna Khoja's; Sixth Soni-Lohar Khoja's; Seventh Kabuli and Badakhshani Khoja's.

As noticed under Bohoras (page 30) the Khoja's are Ismailias of the Nazarian subdivision who, separated in A.D. 1094 from the Mustalian Ismailians on a question regarding the succession to

¹ The Turkish word Khojah seems to be a title. In Persian pronounced *khajah* (written *khvajah*) it means bard teacher and merchant, also like *maula* both sirf and master. Burton's Sindh, 412.

² The Great Khojah Case of 1866 pages 10-12.

³ Biddulph in his Tribes of the Hindu Kush (page 118) says: The influence of the Iskardo princes introduced Shi'ism while the tenets of the Maulais have made their way from the Oxus valley across the passes of the Hindu Kush. Except the population of Nagar and two-thirds of the people of Baltistan the rest belong to the Nur Baksh sect. The Mir of Hunza and the whole population of that place are Maulais. By the Nur Baksh sect Khoja's are meant. Farishtah (Persian Text, II, 645-46) calls the Kashmiri Khoja's the followers of Nur Baksh. By the word Maulai from *maula* lord and master a title of Ali, are meant the followers of Ali. His Highness Agha Khan had and still has (A.D. 1897) great influence over the outlying tribes of the Upper Indus valley. His followers are called Maulais. A portion of the offerings made to Agha Khan's deputies, who are called Pirs and are much respected, is turned into cash and sent yearly to His Highness Agha Khan in Bombay. Biddulph's Tribes of the Hindu Kush, 119.

⁴ The Khojah Vartant (page 255) by Mr. Sachedina Nanjar Assistant Revenue Commissioner of Kachh.

MUSALMANS.

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the throne of the Fátimite Khiláfat in Egypt which was founded in A.D. 910 (H. 299) by Obeidullah (A.D. 872-934) a missionary (Dái) of Abdullah Maimún. The cause of Nazár, the elder son of Al-Mustansirbillah (A.D. 1036-1095), one of the claimants to the Egyptian succession, was espoused and energetically promoted, especially in Persia where it subsequently rose to be supreme, by Hasan Sabáh an Ismáilian missionary who was born at Rai, about fifteen miles south of Teherán now in ruins, in the beginning of the eleventh century. Hasan founded the order of the Fidawis or Fidáis or devotees known in Europe probably from their leader's name as the Assassins.¹ Hasan concentrated his power at Alamút or the Falcon's Nest, an impregnable hill fort on the borders of the Persian district of Dailem, about 200 miles north of Kazwín, which, with a small section of the surrounding country, he had acquired in the latter part of the eleventh century partly by stratagem partly by purchase from the commandant of the Saljuki emperor Malaksháh (A.D. 1072-1092). After gaining Alamút, Hasan resolved to cease acting as dái or missionary and political emissary of the Fátimites, and, though he did not yet arrogate to himself the title of *Unrevealed Imám*, he made himself known by the convenient style of *Shaikh-ul-Jabal* Lord, or, according to the crusaders, Old Man of the Mountain, a title which two of his immediate successors continued to use. Before his death at an advanced age in A.D. 1124, Hasan had the satisfaction of leaving his order flourishing and bidding fair to undermine by his Fidawis' poignard,² as well as by the levelling force of his doctrines, the neighbouring monarchies of Islám. His successors becoming the terror of kings and the authors of revolutions, ruled from the confines of Khurásán to the mountains of Syria and from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean.³ Hasan (A.D. 1163, H. 559), the son of Muhammad the son of Buzurg-Umeid, the fourth ruler on the pontifical throne of Alamút, threw aside the mystery with which the son of Sabáh had deemed it politic to surround his doctrines. He declared himself the Unrevealed Imám and preached that no action of a believer in him could be a sin.⁴ He is called the "Ruler of the world who loosened the bonds of the Law." No Khojáh mentions his name without the words *A'la Zikri-his-Salám* Peace be to his name.⁵

Chapter II.
Subdivisions.HINDU
CONVERTS.
TRADERS.
Khoja'hs.

¹ On the other hand Sir Joseph Arnould observes: It is likely enough that the etymology insisted upon by Silvestre de Sacy should be correct and the origin be the word by which the Ismáiliyas of Alamut and Massiat were designated in the eastern languages. This name is *Hash-shi-shín*, a word derived from the use of Hashish *bhang* or hemp-water with which Hasan and his successors subdued the souls while they inflamed the energies of the Fidawis whom they employed as their . . . instruments. (The Great Khojáh Case of A.D. 1866.) Against this derivation it is to be noted that not one of the Arab or Persian historians of the time designates the Ismáiliyas by the title of Hash-shi-shíns. All call them Muláhidáh or heretics. (Elliot, II. 353-337; Farishtah Persian Text, II. 645-646.)

² The primary meaning of فدوی *fidwi* from the Arabic فدا *fidá* he sacrificed, is scapegoat. The Ismáilia Fidawis were the volunteers of the order courting death for its glory. Sir Joseph Arnould styles them the self-offering or devoted. The Great Khojáh Case of 1866 page 9.

³ Von Hammer's Assassins by Lee, 77-88, 91-92.

⁴ Lee's Translation of Von Hammer's Assassins, 109.

⁵ Mir Khond on the authority of Yúsuf Sháh Kátib (or the Scribe) relates that over

Chapter II.
Subdivisions.

HINDU
CONVERTS.
TRADERS.
Khoja's.

It is through this Hasan that His Highness Agha Khán traces his descent from Ali.¹ The Indian Khojáhs further believe that Hasan was the first of their Imáms to send a missionary to India. The name of this missionary was Núr Satágur.² In his fourth expedition to Multán (A.D. 1005) Mahmúd of Ghazni (A.D. 1001-1030) is said to have expelled the Karmatians from Multán.³ In A.D. 1175 Muhammad Ghori (A.D. 1152-1206) again delivered Multán from Karmatian rule.⁴ In the beginning of the reign of Sultánah Razíah (A.D. 1237-1240) Minháj-us-Siráj the author of the *Tabakát-i-Násiri*⁵ speaks as an eye-witness of the *Muláhidah* heretics of Hindustán being seduced by a person with some pretensions to learning called "Núr the Turk" (probably Núr Satágur the missionary of Hasan Zikri-his-salám), "flocking to him in large numbers from all parts of Hindustán such as Sindh, Gujarát, the environs of Dehli, and the banks of the Ganges and Jamna." Minháj-us-Siráj goes on to say that when Núr preached, the rabble gathered around him. He used to call the learned Sunnis *Násibís* or enemies of Ali and usurpers of his patrimony and their followers *Marjís* or hopefals. On Friday the 6th of Rajab H. 634 (March 1237) his followers to the number of a thousand men inflamed by his fulminations against the orthodox, and armed with swords shields arrows and other weapons attacked the Jámá Mosque of Dehli and slew many of the congregation assembled there till they were routed with great loss by the officers of the empress Razíah. According to the Khojáh accounts Núrúddín, or as they call him Núr-Satágur, came from Deilam to Patán in Gujarát, when that country was governed by a Hindu prince apparently the Soláñki Bhím II. (A.D. 1179-1242). He made a number of converts by ordering the idols of a Hindu temple to speak and bear testimony to the truth of his mission. He is said to have returned to Persia shortly after converting the Hindu ruler of Patán secretly to his faith.⁶ On his second visit to Gujarát he married the daughter of Rája Súrchand, chief or governor of Navsári near Surat. His success as a proselytizer and his wealth exciting the envy of his followers he was killed by Chách one of his two leading disciples while he was absorbed in *samádhi* or contemplation. The name Núr-Satágur Teacher of pure light which he took in addition to his own name Núr-ud-dín or Núrsháh and the practice of the Hindu abstraction or *samádhi* show the process by which the first Ismaíliá preachers succeeded in converting Hindus.⁷ The Ismaíli preachers gained their chief success among the Afghán tribe of Lohá-nas. According to the tribe legends preserved by the Khojáhs the

the door of the library of Ala-mút, Hasan had caused the following couplet to be engraved :

Bar-díht-tauquí-shor-a-ba-tíid i-I'zadí

Maláhdám-i-rúzgár-áala-Zikríhís-salám.

With the help of God he hath undone the collar of the Law,
The ruler of the world He of blessed memory.

VON HANMER'S ASSASSINS—Wood, 108-109.

¹ The Great Khojáh Case of 1866 page 9 paragraph 1.

² The Khojáh Vratant, 155.

³ Elliot, II. 441-443.

⁴ Elliot, II. 289.

⁵ Elliot, II. 335-336.

⁶ The Khojáh hymn called *Ramat* in the Khojáh Vratant, 155. Cf. page 26 note 2.

⁷ Another Ismaíliá missionary Sadr-ud-dín adopted the Hindu names of Sah-deva, and Harchand. Apart from its popularity with Hindus the adoption of a Hindu name

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[Gazetteer.]

MUSALMANS.

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Loháns are descended from Lava, a son of Ráma, who founded the tribe of the Ráthors to which the Loháns belong. According to another story of which there seem to be several versions Rája Jaichand of Kanauj took to wife an Afghán woman who was made captive after the defeat of Shaháb-ud-dín Ghori (A.D. 1178) and who in revenge caused Jaichand's death. Jaichand's son to quiet his father's angry spirit was advised to feed many Brahma-Kshatris. The Kshatris refused and fled to Lahuragadh. The title Khwájah meaning Lord which they received on their conversion to Islám from their *Pir* Sadr-ud-dín seems a translation of the title Thakkar or Thákur by which Loháns are addressed. In support of this it is to be noticed that in Hálár or north-east Káthiáváda Khojáhs are still addressed by the Lohána title of Thakkar and wear their waistcloths in Lohána fashion. Further the language of the Khojáhs and of some of their Sindhi religious hymns contains a liberal mixture of Panjábi words which are also present in the language of the Káthiáváda Loháns.

A later element of strength in the Khojáh community is of Kashmir origin. Farishtah¹ mentions the *Cháks*, originally a race of sun-worshippers, who called themselves *Raushanias* The People of Light. During the reign of Fatch-sháh of Kashmir (A.D. 1458-59, H. 864) these Cháks were converted to the Ismailia faith by a missionary from Irák. This was Shams-ud-dín, the second Ismailia missionary to India who according to the Khojáh hymns was able to work miracles.² Shams-ud-dín settled at Úch in Baháwalpur about eighty miles south of Multán where his shrine still exists.³ The followers of Shams-ud-dín number about 75,000 in the Panjáb and Kashmir. Many of his Ehoi (porter) Sonár (goldsmith) and Kasára (coppersmith) converts, though still believing in him, have gone back to Hinduism, and many who never ceased to be Hindus continue to believe in him. According to the Khojáh accounts Shams-ud-dín is the disciple of Núr-Satágur whom Shams served under the name of Chote. Farishtah gives A.D. 1496 as the date of Shams Chote's arrival in Kashmir.⁴

was in agreement with the Súfi (*tasaw-wuf*) rule as laid down by Saádi (A.D. 1258) :

*Saádiya gar waal khóhi Suth kua ba khás o ám ;
Bá Musalmán, Allah Allah ; bá Humáda'n Rám Rám.
Saádi, if thou wishest union
Live at peace with low and high ;
With the Muslim call on Allah,
With the Hindu Rám Rám cry.*

¹ Persian Text, II. 647.

² Farishtah notices that he met with elders of the Núr Baksh order in Badakhshán. He found they differed in no way from the orthodox either in appearance or in ostensibly following the rules of the *Sunnah* or tradition. He says a son of Núr Baksh showed him Núr Baksh's book, in which he found much to admire. Farishtah Pers. Text, II. 643.

³ One of the most famous of Shams Chote's miracles was the calling to life of the dead son of a powerful noble of Úch. The Pir said : In the name of Allah thou that art dead arise ! The corpse did not stir. Then Shams-ud-dín said : In the name of Shams thou that art dead arise ! and the boy drew up and stretched out his hands and feet, yawned, sneezed, and was one of the living. Farishtah (Pers. Text, II. 643) seems to think that much of the success of Shams-ud-dín in converting the Chák sun-worshippers was due to the happy accident that the missionary's name was "Sun of the Faith" *Shams-ud-dín*. ⁴ Major Biddulph's Tribes of the Hindu Kush, 124.

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Sixty years earlier (about A.D. 1430) Sadr-ud-dín known as the third *Pír* was appointed head of the Khojáhs of Kashmir Sindh and the Panjáb and was the first *pír* to found a *khánah* or Khojáh religious lodge. He conceived the idea of taking all the Khojáhs of India to visit the Unrevealed Imám in Persia. The huge army of pilgrims travelled till they reached Gujarát in the Panjáb. At Gujarát to test the faith of his headmen the *Pír* betook himself to the house of a prostitute seemingly forgetful of the sacred errand on which he had persuaded his followers to start. Two of the headmen lost faith in Sadr-ud-dín. But Trikam the Sindh Mukhi, though vilely repulsed, satisfied the demands of the prostitute and took his *Pír* with him to the camp of the pilgrims. At the next encampment the faith of the followers was still more rudely tested. The Sindh headman alone passed the ordeal unscathed. In the end the *Pír* went alone to Alamút. He saw the Imám incarnate, returned to Ūch, died, and was buried at a village called Jetpúr near Ūch.

As about A.D. 1200 Núr-Satágur had converted Gujarát, so one of his successors Rámdé originally a Tuwar Rajpút, sowed the seed of the Ismáilia faith in Kachh and Káthiáwáda. About A.D. 1430, from the Ismáilia lodge (*khánah*) he had established at Kotda in Sindh, *Pír* Sadr-ud-dín started the first tythe-gathering wallet (*jholi*) on its rounds from the Himálayas to the Vindhya range. It was *Pír* Sadr-ud-dín who to impart everlasting vigour to the tree of the Ismáilia faith engrafted into it the name of Ali, and also the name of Agha Islám Sháh, an ancestor of His Highness the Agha Khán, as Ali's incarnation, together with the nine Avatárs of his Vishnu-worshipping followers. Up to *Pír* Sadr-ud-dín's time Adam and the Prophet of Islám were unknown in the Hindu Pantheon. Adam is now introduced as Vishnu and the Prophet of Islám as Mahesh. Again as Islám Sháh was the incarnation of Ali so Núr-Satágur was the incarnation of the Prophet and Sadr-ud-dín was the incarnation of Brahma. The last of the Imáms, the coming Mahdi, was explained to be the Niklanki or stainless Avatár, whose appearance was looked for by the Saktipanthis as the milenium.

After Sadr-ud-dín came Kabír-ud-dín who was succeeded by Imám-ud-dín known in Gujarát as Imámsháh. Imámsháh was not well received by the Sindh Khojáhs and had to withdraw to Persia, where, after visiting the Imám at Kekht, he returned to India in A.D. 1452. Disgusted with his Sindh followers he turned his footsteps towards Gujarát and was favourably received by Mahmúd Begada (A.D. 1459 - 1511). Imám-ud-dín founded a new sect in Gujarát with opinions differing in some minor points from the doctrines of the Ismáilia faith. The Khojáhs possess to this day a hymn composed by Imámsháh called the *Janázah* or Bier in which he describes his journey to the heavens through the power of the Imám, and his meeting with Pralhádha, Harishchandra, Yudhisthira, Sadr-ud-dín, and others. Imámsháh died in A.D. 1512. His disciples who belong to the class of Momnás are to be found in Ahmedábád, Kheda, Cambay, Baroda, Bhávnagar, Surat, Khándesh, and Kachh. Owing to the deviation of his teaching from the doctrines laid down by the older Khojáh *Pírs*,

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and owing to his denouncing the Khojáh practice of levying *dassondh* or tythes, Imámsháh was excommunicated by Abdas-salám the son of Islámsháh, the unrevealed Khojáh Imám of the time. In Gujarát after the death of Pír Imám-ud-dín (A.D. 1512) active proselytizing ceased. About A.D. 1594 Kapúra Lohána and some other Khojáhs carried the tythe wallet of the Indian Ismáíliás to Kekht in Persia the residence of Agha Abd-us-Salám the unrevealed Imám. To supply the want of a missionary Agha Abd-us-Salám wrote in Persian for the guidance of his Indian followers a book called the *Pandyád-i-Jawán-mardi* that is the Maxims of Fortitude. This book transliterated and translated into Sindhi and Gujaráti forms part of the scriptures of the Khojáhs and is regarded with a veneration which gives the book the twenty-sixth place in the list of the Khojáh Pírs or saints. The mystic strain in their faith the Khojáhs trace to certain allegorical traditions of the Prophet and Ali.¹

About the middle of the sixteenth century the backsliding of the Panjáb Khojáhs to Sunnism showed the need of a vice-pontiff in India. The Imám summoned one Dáúd or Dádu, a descendant of a powerful family of Sindh Khojáhs, and invested him with the mantle of a Pír. The day of Dádu's investiture is still celebrated by the Khojáhs as the Sháh's Íd. About A.D. 1549 (Samvat 1606) Pír Dádu, owing to the hostility of the Sumras, left Sindh and settled in Jámnagar. Here they were honourably received by the Jám and at his request forty more families of Khojáhs were invited. A plot of land near the town was assigned to them and round it they raised a wall one of whose gates is still known as Dádu's Gate. After converting some Káthiáváda Lohánas Dádu went to Bhuj the capital of Kachh in the reign of Ráo Bhármal I. (A.D. 1585-1631). Here a rain-compelling miracle procured the Pír many converts. Pír Dádu died in A.D. 1594 and was succeeded by his son Sádik after whom the title of Pírship became extinct, the deputy of the Imám being henceforth styled *Vakíl*. Owing to family dissensions Sádik's grandson moved from Bhuj to Hálár in Káthiáváda. In A.D. 1844 the Khojáh Imám Agha Sháh Hasan Ali discontinuing the appointment of local Khojáhs as his *Vakíls* sent out his nephew to Kachh as his deputy. A year later (A.D. 1845) Agha Sháh Hasan Ali better known as His Highness the Agha-Khán, himself came to India and was the first Ismáíli unrevealed Imám to settle in this country. He was eighteenth in descent from Ruknuddín Khur Sháh during whose tenure of the Ismáíli pontificate, in A.D. 1255, Haláku Khán the Tartar massacred the Ismáíli population of Persia, and dismantled their forts.

¹ Ali being asked how he came to know Allah, replied: I came to know my Maker from the weakness of my own purpose. In justification of their belief in incarnations the Khojáhs put forward the argument about Godhead in Man furnished by a tradition which they attribute to the Prophet: I am the 'Mim'-less Muhammad. This is *Ahad* the One and Unique Allah. (That is, without its three *ms* or *mims* Muhammad becomes *Ahad*.) A scoffer asked Ali: What is Alláh? The Prince of the Faithful replied: Hast thou been at sea in a sinking ship? Though the winds sang thy dirge and the waves threatened to engulf thee, like the veritable black valley of Jehanna, even then did no small benign voice whisper to thee 'Thou shalt be saved!' That voice, oh thou of little belief, was Alláh! The Khojáhs are fond of the Prophet's saying: Think not on the being, think on the bounty of God. Khojáh Vratant, 1-10

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Appearance.

In a large crowd of Musalmáns the Khojáh can be recognized by his full arched head, his massive square forehead, his heavy, sometimes bushy, but generally broadly pencilled and arched eyebrows and long full lashes fringing large keen brown or black eyes, his large roundish and sometimes forwardbent ears, his heavy moustaches falling over his small full lips without regard to the order and practice (*sunnah*) of the Prophet, his thick beard either shaved or cropped close to the skin covering a full chin and oval cheeks. Ages of business habit have given his face a good-tempered but keenly intelligent shrewdly confident and sometimes among the lower orders a hard and sinister expression. Among Khojáh women large dark sometimes flashing eyes often adorn a face which is pleasing and perfect in its oval outline. The other features though finer and more delicate are as clearly marked as those of the men. The complexion of the men varies from a yellowish or ruddyish fair to a rich olive or leonine brown, that of the women from a delicate fair to the greenish hue so highly prized and so often sung by the Persian and Urdu poet as the *sabzah* or green hue. The men are generally of medium height and well built with a tendency to stoutness, the women are below the medium height and rather, slightly though symmetrically formed. The men shave their head or wear short close-cut hair in European style. The women wear their long black hair parted in the middle and drawn back hanging in a long plait. Khojáh women are fond of reddening their palms and soles with henna. They also apply lampblack or collyrium to the edges of their eyelids, but unlike other Musalmán women they are not partial to the *missi* or black dentrifice.¹

Dress.

Fifty years ago (A.D. 1840) the dress of the Khojáh men was the *pahág* or loosely wound white turban, the *angarkha* (literally body-cover) or *chola* made of white cotton stuff fastened in front high over the chest by a pair of cotton ties or *bands* and falling to the ankles. The coat had sleeves of an extravagant length which were shortened by being creased up as far as the elbows. The coat of poorer men was the *bandi* or jacket cut like a *chola*, but reaching only as far as the waist. The lower extremities were covered by the *suththan* or *chena* a pair of trousers of thick white cotton cloth loose above and tightened at the ankles by a pair of loops and buttons. Those wearing the *bandi* had to wear over it fastened at the navel by a single knot a waistcloth *potio*, while the wearer of the longer coat used to carry his waistcloth over his arm or shoulder. The shoes worn both by the rich and poor were pointed and of red or black leather. The indoor dress of the early Khojáh was a simple *potio* or waistcloth worn

¹ The origin of the use of *missi* (from *mis*, Arabic copper, because copper filings form one of its chief components) is the Arab admiration of the rich red of the inner lips called in Arabic *luma*. So in the Thousand and One Nights (Alf Leilah-wa Leilah', Arabic Text, Night 335 (Cairo Edition) :

As sumru fi laun il lumá

Wal bizo fi laun il bahak.

Pleasing as the deep scarlet in the deep red of the inner lip.
Hateful as the whiteness in the whiteness of lip leprosy.

in the present Hindu style, with the rest of the body bare. The dress of the Khojáh women of fifty years ago was a striped silk or cotton bodice, fastened tightly behind in the middle of the back, a striped black green or red heavy petticoat with numerous folds reaching to the ankles and a scarf of green black or other sober cotton with borders and stripes called *pachedi* or *potara*. The dress of the modern rich Khojáh indoors is a skullcap of some sober hue of flowered or plain velvet or satin, a flannel or cashmere waistcoat in the cold weather or a cotton or silk waistcoat in the warm weather, the collar of the waistcoat being cut in the style of a English shirt, and below it a long fine white cotton shirt. Under the shirt a rich Khojáh wears a white cotton flannel or cashmere trousers either wholly in English style or cut in English style but fastened by a trousers string. Some Khojáhs wear white silk trousers but these are fast disappearing. On his feet the Khojáh wears white cotton or wool or silk stockings with a pair of velvet or leather slippers. Out of doors the rich Khojáh puts on a goldbordered arched turban which he calls a Mughláí *phenta* or Mughal scarf-turban, its shape being borrowed from the headdress of the Mughals. The peculiarity of the Khojáh turban is that it is smaller and lays bare a greater portion of the back of the head than the Meman or Kokani turban of the same shape. Another material used by Khojáhs for their turbans is the Calcutta needlework called *kashidah*. Old men or men with less taste for show wear silk embroidered turbans as also do the middle classes. The poor go out in their skullcaps. The rich and middle class Khojáh when going out of doors puts over his jacket or waistcoat a longer coat, a compromise between the English coat and Indian, having the length of the *angarkha* with the cut the buttons and the sleeves of a English coat. Some Khojáhs wear the *sháyáh sadriyah* or Arab short coat open at the breast with a large row of silk buttons on one side and of loops on the other side. He changes his slippers for English boots, or, if he belongs to the middle classes, for country-made boots or shoes of English style. But for his arched gold or silk embroidered turban, the outdoor dress of the Khojáh is so similar to that of the modern Pársi that it would be difficult to distinguish a Khojáh from a Pársi. Except that it is made of cheaper materials, the dress of a middle class Khojáh does not differ from that of his rich fellow-tribesman. As has been observed the indoor dress of a middle class or rich Khojáh is the outdoor dress of the poor Khojáh. It is also made of poorer materials.

The wardrobe of Khojáh women is costly being made mostly of light coloured silks with silk or gold embroidery. A great part of a Khojáh married woman's wardrobe is a gift to her from her parents at the time of her marriage and if carefully kept the enduring materials of which it is composed last ten to twenty years. The indoor dress of a rich Khojáh woman consists of a plain or embroidered scarf *pachedi*, a goldbordered or plain silk or brocade *káncheri* or bodice tightly laced at the back, a loose gown-like silk shirt or *perahan* reaching to the knees, and a pair of loose silk trousers *izárs*. Out of doors she puts on a waistcoat (without sleeves or a polka

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with sleeves) a pair of stockings and slippers or English shoes. The dress of the children is like that of their parents except that until she reaches mature age, the Khojáh girl like the Pársi girl wears an embroidered skullcap. The dress of middle class and poor Khojáh women though of less costly materials is the same as that of the rich women.¹

Some Kachh Káthiáváda and north Gujarát Khojáh men wear earrings in the lobes of the ears and jewelled studs in the ear cartilage. The practice is every day becoming less common. The other ornaments worn by Khojáh men are rings and watch chains. The ornaments worn by the women though differing in name and slightly in some cases in appearance are the same as those worn by Sunni women.

Character.

The Khojáh enjoys a good business reputation. A Pársi would rather trust a Khojáh than a Meman. A keen jealous spirit of competition is the chief trait in the Khojáh character. The Khojáh is a good hater *Vedmen Khojo, Dukhmen sojo*: For hate a Khojáh, for pain a boil. The Khojáh expresses his contempt for an upstart rival by the term *Tre pēñjyo* A three-twenty-five that is a man who fancies himself wealthy because he owns three times twenty-five rupees. Though called *Tundās* that is beliefless epicures the Khojáhs have a great regard for their religion the tenets of which they observe faithfully.² They are neat, clean, sober, thrifty, ambitious, and in trade enterprising and cool and resourceful. They are great travellers by land and sea visiting and settling in distant countries for purposes of trade. They have business connections with the Panjáb, Sindh, Calcutta, Ceylon, Burma, Singápur, China, and Japan; with ports of the Persian Gulf Arabia and East Africa, and with England America and Australia. Khojáh boys go as apprentices in foreign Khojáh firms on salaries of Rs. 200 to Rs. 2000 a year with board and lodging.

Calling.

On their first settlement in the towns of Gujarát the Khojáhs were parched-grainsellers, fuel-sellers, old-embroiderymen (*zaripuránás*), and bricklayers. They now enjoy assured and powerful positions in the ivory, horn, cotton, hide, mother-of-pearl, grain, spice, fishmaw, shark-fin, cotton, seed, furniture, opium, and silk trades. They have also gained high places in the learned professions as doctors engineers and lawyers. A Khojáh has lately (A.D. 1897) been elected a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

Customs.

Khojáhs have many observances and customs differing from those of regular Musalmáns. The *chhatti* or sixth day ceremony after birth differs from that performed by regular Gujarát Musalmáns. Near the bed of the mother is placed a *bájot* or wooden stool on which after the child and mother have been bathed and dressed, on the evening of the sixth day are placed a reedpen an inkstand a blank

¹ The chief difference is that none but the rich wear either the *lákít* that is locket round the neck, a fashion adopted by Khojáh women from Pársi women, or the Lodi Laskar, a gold or silver knob set in a capacious hole in the lobe of the ear, which the rich and middle class are gradually giving up.

² Mr. Háshambháí Núr Muhammad of Bombay.

book a knife and a garland of flowers. The pen ink and paper are intended for the Goddess of Fortune who is believed to write the destiny of the newborn child. A *chaumukh* four-sided butter-fed dough-lamp is also placed on the stool and lighted and close to the lamp is set a box of Chinese crackers. As each of the female relatives of the family comes in she strews a little rice near the stool, lays on the ground her present of gold or silver wristlets and anklets for the child and bending over the mother and her newborn babe takes their *balāyeñ* or ills upon herself by passing her hands over them and crackling her finger-joints against her temples. The little one is then laid on the ground on the strewn rice and the mother rises and worships the child by bowing towards it and to the *chaumukh* or four-faced lamp on the stool. Crackers are then let off and the child is laid in its mother's lap.

The Khojāh marriage keeps a relic of the marriage by purchase which they believe once obtained among them. Three or four days before the marriage the father or male guardian of the marrying pair meet one evening at the Jamā-āt Khanāh or assembly lodge with their friends and relatives and the Mukhi or other Jamā-āt officer. The officer registers the names of the bride and bridegroom in a register kept under the order of His Highness the Aghā Khān. The father of the bridegroom gives Rs. 5½ to the father of the bride. The sum is received by the girl's father and handed to the Jamā-āt officer as the marriage contribution to the funds. The bridegroom's friends place before the Jamā-āt officer a copper or brass tray containing from five to ten *sers* of sugar. The Jamā-āt officer, after repeating the hallowed names of the Five or *Panj-tan* that is Muhammad, Ali, Fātimah, Hasan, and Husein declares : I do hereby begin the wedding of Mehr Ali, son of Karam Ali, with Rabiāh, the fourth daughter of Padamsi Pūnja, to wed as did wed Fātimah, the brightfaced lady daughter of our Lord and Prophet Muhammad (on whom be peace !) with the lord and the leader, the receiver of the testament of the Chosen and Pure, the lord Ali, the son of Abū Tālib. The sugar tray is then placed before the bride's father who in token of ratifying the compact tastes a pinch of the sugar which is then distributed among those present. This is the verbal compact.

On the morning of the next day the written agreement is prepared. A thick parchment-like sheet of blank paper is taken together with trays full of dried fruit and sugar to the bride's house by the bridegroom's father and his friends accompanied by the Jamā-āt officers. The Jamā-āt scribe begins the writing with the names of the five holy persons and the names of the four archangels in the four corners. Then are entered the names of the contracting parties with those of their fathers and grandfathers, the amount of the marriage portion, the names of the chief Jamā-āt officers of the day, and the dates on which the chief marriage ceremonies are to be performed. Saffron water is sprinkled over the sheet of paper, which, together with the sugar and dried fruit, is laid before the bridegroom's father. The bridegroom's father lays the sheet on the ground and on it places an iron nail and four betelnuts and throws some rice over it. Then folding it he wraps it and the betelnuts in an unused silk or cotton handkerchief and takes it away. Except that in Bombay the *Nikāh* ceremony is performed

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by His Highness the Aghá Khán himself and outside Bombay by his officers the ceremonies that follow possess no noteworthy peculiarity.

A remarkable feature at a Khojá's death is the *samarchhántá* or Holy Drop. The Jamá-át officer or the Mukhi asks the dying Khojá if he wishes the sacred drop *samarchhántá*. If the dying person agrees he or she bequeaths Rs. 5 to Rs. 500 or any larger amount to the Khojá Jamá-át. A Sindhi-knowing Khojá is then called in to read the Book of the Ten Incarnations *Das-Avatár*: A Jamá-át officer dilutes a cake of Karbalá clay in water, and, to save the departing soul from the temptation of the Archfiend who is believed to be present offering a cup of false nectar, moistens the lips and sprinkles the rest of the water on the face the neck and the chest of the dying Khojá. The touch of the Holy Drop is believed to relieve the death agony as completely as among the Sunnis does the recital at a death-bed of the chapter of the Kuraán known as the Súrah-i-Yá-sín. If the dead is old and grayhaired the hair after death is dyed with henna. A garland of cakes of Karbalá clay is tied round the neck of the corpse. If the body is to be buried locally two small circular patches of silk cloth cut from the covering of Husain's tomb, called *chashmahs* or spectacles, are laid over the eyes. If the body is to be buried in the sacred soil of Karbalá the viscera are removed before the body is bathed, the hollow is filled with camphor and the incision carefully sewn.¹ After it is bathed and shrouded, the body is laid in a bier and taken to a mosque and the prayers for the dead are repeated over it. It is then placed in an air-tight tin-lined coffin which is afterwards enveloped in tarred canvas. As long as the coffin lies at a mosque awaiting shipment the services of a Shiáh Mulláh are engaged at Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 to keep on reading the Kuraán over the body. The coffins of dead Khojáhs are carried by the Persian Steam Navigation Company's steamers and transhipped at the mouth of the Euphrates into smaller river-steamers and by them are landed at Baghdád ten or twelve days after leaving Bombay. At Baghdád professional coffin-carriers take charge of them and carry the coffins by mule or camel to Karbalá. The steamer freights vary from Rs. 200 to Rs. 400: the Baghdád camelmen charge no less than Rs. 20 to Rs. 40 for each coffin; and the final interment charges at Karbalá are heavy ranging from Rs. 100 for the deposit of the coffin in the vaults (*Sardáb*) below Husain's shrine to Rs. 2000 to Rs. 5000 for a grave on the Karbalá side.

Religion.

The religion of the Khojáhs is Shiáh Ismáíliáism. To the simple Sunni *Kalimah* or profession of faith "There is no God but Alláh and Muhammad is His Prophet" the Shiáh adds "and Ali the

¹This is doubtful. Some say the Shiáh in common with orthodox sections believe that it is sacrilege amounting to a mutilation of the defunct to even handle the body roughly after death. They say that the viscera are not removed, but that a stout cotton ribbon about two inches in breadth is wound tightly and closely round the body of the corpse beginning from the toes and ending at the throat. After the body is deposited in the coffin the remaining space in the coffin is filled with finely pounded henna powder. The powdered henna absorbs all the moisture which the body exudes and prevents smell.

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companion of Muhammad is the Vicar of God." The elevation of Ali to an almost equal place with the Prophet is the distinctive tenet of the Shiáhs.¹ The whole religious life of the Shiáh is steeped in a current of thoughts beliefs traditions and observances having their source in Ali, the Lady Fátimah, and their two sons Hasan and Husain, four venerated names which with that of the apostle of God compose the Pentad or *Panj-tan* of the holy family of Islám. To revere Ali as the Vicar, still more as the incarnation of Alláh, to go on pilgrimage to Sháh Najaf the supposed place of Ali's martyrdom 120 miles south-west of Baghdád, and at Karbálá to bow the forehead on moulds of Karbálá clay and to drink the holy clay dissolved in water are practices as meritorious in the eyes of the Shiáh as they are forbidden in the estimation of the Sunni. The Sunni prays with folded arms five times, the Shiáh with his arms straight by his side three times a day. The Shiáh venerates Ali and Fátimah and execrates the memory of the first three Khalífahs. The Sunni reverences the first three Khalífahs equally with Ali and the Lady Fátimah. The Shiáh laws of marriage divorce and inheritance, though drawn from the same source, are completely opposed to the Sunni laws. The Khojáhs, like the Memans, follow the Hindu law of inheritance.²

The Sunni considers it his duty, if he can afford it, to make a pilgrimage to Makkah and Madínah. With the Shiáh it is an act of merit if he has visited the shrines of Ali and Husain.³

The Ismáíliá Shiáhs are divided into two classes, the *Isna-asharis* or Twelvers who believe in the twelve Imáms, the descendants of Ali. To this branch of the Shiáh faith belong the regular classes of the Persian and Indian Shiáhs. The other branch is that of the Seveners or *Sábíís* who are called Ismáílians because they reckon seven Imáms and make Ismáíl, the son of Muhammad, the son of Jaáfar Sádik, the last of the revealed Imáms. The difference between the Twelvers and the Seveners starts from the seventh Imám. The power of the Seveners originated with the dynasty of the Fátimis in Egypt (A.D. 910 - 1171) founded by Obeidullah (A.D. 910) who through

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¹ Etymologically Shiáh means separatist which is probably the correct derivation. The term was originally applied to those pure-blooded members of Ali's family who fell early victims to the hostility of the Sunni Umayyad Khalífahs of Damascus (A.D. 661 - 745). Sir Joseph Arnould in the Great Khojá Case of 1866.

² During the absence of His Highness the Ághá in Calcutta in A.D. 1846-47 and 1848 litigation was carried on and concluded which again divided the Khojáhs of Bombay into two hostile parties. It was the well-known case as to the rights of female inheritance among the Khojáhs, called Sarjun Mir-Ali's case, in which Sir Erskine Perry in A.D. 1847 pronounced a learned judgment, founded on the evidence of caste-usage and custom, against the rights of Khojá females to inherit according to the rules of Muhammadan law. The Great Khojá Case of 1866.

³ Sir Joseph Arnould, on whose judgment in the great Khojá case of A.D. 1866 much of the above contrast is based, thus sums the differences: In a word, agreeing in reverencing Muhammad as the Prophet and the Kuraán as the word of Alláh, the Sunnis and Shiáhs agree in little else except in hating each other with the bitterest hatred. (The Great Khojá Case.) The Shiáh calls the Sunni a *Násibi* and a *Khárijí*, a usurper and an outgoer. The Sunni retorts by calling the Shiáh a *Ráfízi* or rejecter. Sir Richard Burton (*Alf Lailah wa Lailah*, IV. 44 note 1) says: The Shiáhs have no ground to feel offended at the word *Ráfízi* being applied to them as the name was taken from their own saying *Inna rafadna hum* Verily we have rejected or renounced them, that is the first three Khalífahs.

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Muhammad Habīb, the son of Jaāfar Musaddik, who claimed descent from Ismāīl, the seventh and according to the Ismāīliās the last of the revealed Imāms. Muhammad, the son of Ismāīl and his son Jaāfar Musaddik and his son Muhammad Habīb are called by the Ismāīliās their *Makrūm* or Concealed Imāms in contradistinction to Obeidullah the asserter of the rights of the family of Ismāīl to the Khilāfat, a Revealed Imām. On the establishment of the Fātimite dynasty in Africa (A.D. 910) the Ismāīliā doctrines were first publicly taught at Mahdia, a city founded by Obeidullāh afterwards surnamed Al Mahdi, and after the conquest of Egypt, by the fourth Fātimite Al Muizz (A.D. 953-975) at Cairo. Towards the close of the eleventh century (A.D. 1072-1092) the power of the Ismāīliās was established at Alamūt in Persia by Hasan Sabāh. The doctrines of the Ismāīliās of Persia remained without change till the year A.D. 1163 when the fourth successor of Hasan Sabāh, Ālā-zikri-his-salām, abrogated the rule of secrecy and promulgated his doctrines and transferred the Imāmate from the Fātimite to himself.¹ From Ālāzikri-his-salām the Khojās derive the succession and descent of their present Imām Āgha Sultān Muhammad Shāh. In order to present the Ismāīliā faith in inviting form to the Shakti-worshipping Lohānas the first Ismāīliā missionaries made some modification in its doctrines. The Mahdi or unrevealed Imām of Alamūt was preached to the Shaktipānthis as their looked-for tenth incarnation the Niklanki or Stainless Avatār. The five Pāndavas were the first five famous Ismāīliā pontiffs. The first Ismāīliā missionary Nūr Satgūr (A.D. 1163) was the incarnation of Brahma that appeared on earth next after Buddha. Among the Mātāpanthis each of the four Yugās or epochs has its preacher or *bhakta*. To the first epoch is assigned as *bhakta* Pralhādha, to the second Harischandra, and to the third Yudishthira. Instead of the fourth Balibhadra, Pīr Sadr-ud-dīn the third Khojāh missionary added his own name. The four sacrifices² of the four *yugas* were confirmed as were also confirmed the *Ghat Pāth-Mantra* or prayer and ritual of the Shaktipānthis. Instead of Shaktipānth Sadr-ud-dīn adopted the name of *Satpanth* or True Doctrine for his new faith. The Khojās repeat the hymns of Sadr-ud-dīn with great devotion and never name him but with extreme reverence. The forms of Khojāh prayer and ritual are laid down in the Book of Pandyādi Jawān Mardi by Āgha Abdus Salām Shāh one of the Khojāh Imāms. The book is translated into old Hindu Sindhi. Before the time of Pīr Dādu (about A.D. 1550) the form of worship prescribed to the Khojās was daily attendance at the *khānah* or prayer-lodge and the repetition on a rosary of 99 or 101 beads the names *Pīr-Shāh* or *Shāh Rīr*.³ Pīr Dādu ordered his followers to pray three times a day like the Shiāhs repeating the above words in their prayer and also repeating the names of all the Imāms down to the present Imām. The Khojāh prays sitting mentally addressing his prayers to the Imām for the time. He also makes prostrations at stated intervals. The newmoon, Muharram,

¹ Von Hammer's Assassins, 20-109.

² The Balidhāns, the first Yuga sacrifice being the elephant, the second the horse, the third the cow, the fourth the goat. Khojāh Vratant, 195.

³ *Shūh*, literally King, allegorically means God and *Pīr* the Prophet. Khojāh Vratant, 239-40.

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and Ramazán prayers are repeated in the Jamá-ât Khánah with the Pír as Leader. While the prayer reciters are assembling a man stands at the chief entrance to the Jamá-ât Khánah. He demands the Khojáh shibboleth or watchword of every person seeking admission. The newcomer says: *Hai Zindah* Oh thou living one, and the Janitor answers *Káyámpáya* I have found him alive and true.¹ The Khojáh's three daily prayers are: Morning prayer *Subo-ji nimáz* between 4 and 5 A.M.; evening prayer *Maghrib* or *Sámanji nimáz* at dusk; and night prayer *Isáji nimáz* between 8 and 9 P.M. generally at home. Next to prayer the most important act of devotion is the counting of the names of the *pírs* on a rosary of 101 beads made of Karbálá clay. Third in importance is the Khojáh sacrament the *Ghat páth* or Heart-prayer. Except on holidays Saturdays and Mondays, when in Bombay the Imám presides, the sacrament is held after the morning prayers at the chief Jamá-ât Khánah by the Jamá-ât officers. Karbálá clay is dissolved in a large bowl of water, and as each of the congregation rises to leave the lodge he goes to the person presiding lays before him from 2 annas to 2 rupees and kisses his hand. He receives a small cup of the sacramental water which he drinks and retires.

Besides the *Dussondh* or tithe and the *Petondh*, a smaller contribution, the Khojáh has to pay his Imám about sixteen minor contributions varying from $\frac{1}{4}$ -5 annas to Rs. 1000.² These he pays as the *zakát* or purification ordered by the Kuráan. Besides these when pressed for money the Imám sends round the *jholi* or wallet demanding an extraordinary levy of the tenth or fifth part of the whole of a Khojáh's possessions. This is called the *Bakkas* a corruption of *bakhshish* or voluntary gift. Though it once caused the defection of a large number from the community the Khojáhs have more than once cheerfully paid the Bakkas. The date of its last payment was A.D. 1839-40.³ The *Dassondh* is levied on each newmoon day of every month, each Khojáh dropping into a cloth bag kept in the Jamá-ât Khánah for the purpose as much as he is inclined to pay generally the tenth part of his monthly earnings. The *Kánga* is the contribution due for the initiation of a Khojáh child. It is paid by the parents at any time after the child has reached the age of four to twelve. This is the Khojáh substitute for the *Bismillah* ceremony of the Regular Musalmáns.

Besides the *Ramazán* and the *Bakr Íds*, two holidays which they

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¹ It is said that Pír Kabír-ud-dín, the fourth Ismáíli missionary (A.D. 1448) in one of his visits to the Imám at Deilam, was addressed by the Imám as *Hai zindah!* Oh living one. In reply the Pír said *Káyámpáya* I have found him alive (meaning himself). These words repeated in a Khojáh's devotions possess a merit equal to the gift of a horse in charity. Khojáh Vratánt, 212.

² The Khojáh Vratánt at page 244 gives the names of some of the chief dues as: 1 *Sarshúr*, 2 *Lekho*, 3 *Chokho*, 4 *Chopdo*, 5 *Samar-chhánto*, 6 *Marnu-parná*, 7 *Chándránú-piráná*, 8 *Bhaki-bhuki*, 9 *Darya Bakas*, 10 *Chhatti-mándá*, 11 *Gulful*, 12 *Phoda-phodi*, 13 *Matta-salamati*, 14 *Mohur*, 15 *Salamaji*, 16 *Kango*. The *Dassondh* and *Petondh* though large dues are not regularly paid. Many Khojáhs do not pay them at all. Mr. Háshimbháí Núr Muhammad.

³ Sir Joseph Arnould's Judgment in the Great Khojáh Case of 1866 page 11.

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enjoy jointly with other Musalmáns, the Khojáhs observe nine other yearly holidays.¹

Memans, properly Muámíns or Believers, include five divisions of Kachhis from Sindh and Kachh, Háláris from Hálár in north-east Káthiáváda, Dhokas belonging to Dholka in Ahmedábád, Dhoráji Bhávnagris from Bhávnágar in south-east Káthiáváda, and Verávádas from Verával in south Káthiáváda. Their descent from converts of two distinct Hindu-Sindh and Kachh castes, the trading Lohánas and the market gardening Káchhiás of Káthiáváda, is perpetuated by the two main divisions of Kachhis and Háláris, from the latter of which the Dhokas Bhávnagris and Verávádas are offshoots.

Maulána Abdul Kádír Muhi-yud-dín Gílání the Saint of Saints died at Baghdád in A.D. 1165 (H. 561). On his death-bed he ordered one of his sons Táj-ud-dín to settle in India and display to its people the light of Islám.² In A.D. 1421 (H. 838) Sayad Eúsuf-ud-dín Kádírí, fifth in descent from Táj-ud-dín, was in a miraculous dream ordered to set sail for Sindh and guide its people into the right way of Islám. When Sayad Eúsuf-ud-dín reached Sindh, its capital was Nagar-Thatha and its ruler was a chief of the Samma dynasty (A.D. 1351-1521) with the title of Markab Khán³ (probably Jám Rái Dán [A.D. 1454]) who received Sayad Eúsuf-ud-dín with honour and entertained him as his guest. At this time Mánekji, the head of the eighty-four *nukhs* or divisions of the Lohána community⁴ was in favour at the court of

¹ The details are:

<i>Katl</i> Assassination of the <i>Imám Ali</i>	21st Ramazán.
<i>Lailat-ul-Kadr</i> Night of pre-ordination of Destinies	23rd ditto.
<i>I'd-i-Ghadir</i>	18th Zir Hajjah.
<i>Ashurah</i>	9th and 10th Muharram.
<i>Chithillum</i>	21st of Safar.
<i>Katl-i</i> (Assassination of) <i>Imám Hasan</i>	29th ditto.
<i>I'd-i-Maulad</i> <i>Husein's</i> Birthday	17th of the 1st Rabi.
The <i>Nauruz</i> or Vernal Equinox kept according to the Pársi calculation	21st March.
Birthday of His Highness Agha Khán	Fálgun Sud 6th, 25th Mar.

² From an Urdu treatise named *Nuzhat-ul-Akhbár* by Sayad Amír-ud-dín Nuzhat written under the patronage of the Mewan spiritual guide Pír Buzurg Ali of Mundra in Kachh in A.D. 1873 (H. 1290). This account, though unreliable as to dates, is said to be derived from three respectable sources: First the pedigree of the holy Sayad Buzurg Ali. Second, sanads or patents of the headship of the community conferred on Mahekji the first Lohána convert to Islám in the possession of Seth Sáhebná of Bhuji, Mánekji's descendant in Bombay. Third, sanads or patents in the possession of Joshi Bhojáji, a descendant of Joshi Hansráj, son of Ramáni, the caste priest of the Lohánas at the time of their conversion.

³ *Farishtah* (Persian Text, II. 615-620) in his notice of the Sammas of Sindh does not mention any individual of the name of Markab Khán as having ruled over Sindh. The *Tárikh-i-Maásumi*, A.D. 1600 (Elliot, I. 231) mentions a *fakir* who was a man of judgment and was considered a saint at Thatha, as in the habit of visiting the Samma ruler Jám Rái Dán (A.D. 1454) and as much respected and favoured by that monarch. The nearness of this date (A.D. 1421) given to Sayad Eúsuf-ud-dín with the date (A.D. 1454) of Jám Rái Dán favours the supposition that by Markab Khán the author of the treatise meant Jám Rái Dán himself.

⁴ According to the Memans the name Lohána is from Lohánpur in Multán. This derivation is probably correct. The Khojáhs (Above page 39) say Lohána is from *Laturagadh*, probably Láhore, but the Khojáhs are sadly confused. According to Amír-ud-dín (page 13) in A.D. 1400 the Lohánas were known in Sindh as *Motas*. The names of sixty of

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Markab Khán. Markab Khán became a follower of the Sayad and Mánekji with two of his three sons and 700 Lohána families followed their ruler's example. Of the two sons of Mánekji who became converts Ravji was called Ahmed and Ravji's sons Sundarji and Hansráj were named Adam and Táj Muhammad. On their conversion the saint changed the name of the community from Mota and Lohána to *Muámin* or Believers, and, investing Adam with a dress of honour, appointed him hereditary head of the new community with his seat at Wára near Thatha. The Hindu relatives of the converted Lohánas called on their spiritual guides to pray to Darya Pír the Indus spirit to remove the saint.¹ The Indus spirit heard their prayer. The saint refused a grant of land and after receiving his followers' assurance that they would continue to support his descendants as their religious heads Eúsuf-ud-dín retired by sea to Irák. Before leaving he blessed his people, a blessing to which the Memans trace their fruitfulness and their success in trade. Pír Buzurg Ali Kádiri of Mundra in south Kachh who died nearly two years ago (A.D. 1896) was eighteenth in descent from Sayad Eúsuf-ud-dín. The present (A.D. 1898) Pír is his son Sayad Jaafar Sháh who lives partly in Bombay and partly in Mundra. According to this account at the invitation of the Jadeja Ráo Khengár (A.D. 1548 - 1584), under Kannawa a descendant of Adam Seth, the Memans moved from Thatha to Bhúj; and, under the favour of Ráo Khengár who honoured Kannawa with the title of Seth, founded the Meman ward of that city. At an uncertain date the Lohána or Kachhi Memans passed from Kachh south through Káthiáváda to Gujarát. They are said to have been strong and wealthy in Surat during the period of its prosperity (A.D. 1580 - 1680). As Surat sank the Kachhi Memans moved to Bombay, the settlement receiving a large increase in consequence of the sufferings caused in north Gujarát and Kachh by the A.D. 1813 famine. As Káthiáváda did not suffer less than Kachh from the famine of A.D. 1813, many Káthiáváda Memans from Hálár and Bhávnagar migrated to different parts of Gujarát, chiefly to the north Gujarát states and Ahmedábád and also to Surat and Bombay. Besides what may be considered their homes in Kachh and Káthiáváda the Memans are scattered over the cities of north and south Gujarát. Beyond Gujarát Memans both of the Hálár and of the Kachhi classes are found in Bombay Thána Násik and Khándesh. Beyond the Presidency Memans, almost entirely of the Kachh division, have spread as traders and merchants and formed settlements in Calcutta, Madras, the Malabár Coast, South Burma, Siám, Singápur, and Jáva; in the ports of the Arabian peninsula except Maskat where they have been

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their eighty-four *Nukhs* or clans are: *Aodáni, Aiya, Ambiya, Asákirah, Adthakar, Bhatdi, Barya, Ghakhar, Ghata, Ghadi, Ghadhtar, Ganda, Ganjan Mathya, Gulbadnda, Chokha Sota, Chandnani Chochak, Chideman Sakya, Chide, Aduputra, Chandan, Joban Putra, Jaysiyya, Karia, Khakhar, Khokharya, Khodra, Kayath, Kesarya, Katesra, Kotak, Khora, Loriya, Ladak, Majitya, Maanak, Medwar, Naram, Ndrwáni, Pábarya, Pálya, Pandhi, Párkarya, Padan, Phulbadnda, Popat, Rach, Rakunraya, Raichanna, Rána, Rárya, Rokhana, Rúparel, Sakráni, Sabágar, Sendúwa, Somiya, Sendgila, Somisar, Thakráti, Tinna, and Thauru.*

¹ The Lohána priests who prayed to the Indus were Tekmal, Adhanmal, Nandmal, and Málmal.

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ousted by the Khojâhs ; in Mozambique Zanzibâr and the East African Coast. The Jaddah Memans are mostly Kachhis. The Kachh Memans are a fair people, the men often with ruddy skins thick beards, profuse head and body-hair, large dark almond-shaped eyes with the full and arched eyebrows peculiar to Sindh. Somewhat above the middle height and inclined to fullness in youth and corpulence in middle age both men and women are remarkably well-formed and strong. The Kachh Meman's face is often round sometimes oval, with round cheeks, high forehead, a straight or slightly hooked nose with large well-turned nostrils, small full lips, round well marked chin generally dimpled in women, small ears, and an elongated neck set on square shoulders. The expression is keen, shrewd, self-reliant. They wear the moustache short according to the *sunnah* (tradition and practice) of the Prophet, and the beard about at the most six inches long, often, when a plentiful growth of its thick hair spreads over their cheeks divided by two shaven belts one on the cheek the other on the neck. Regardless of the law many of the younger men wear their hair short and parted in the middle, the moustache full, and the beard cropped close. Most of them however shave the head. Meman women who have often very long hair wear it parted down the middle in a plait of three braids ending in a ribbon. The elders both men and women try to disguise gray hair by dyeing it with henna (*Lawsonia inermis*) and sometimes with henna and indigo.¹ For a time the indigo dye is effective, but if the application is not renewed within eight days the roots of the hair turn a flaming purple. Both Meman men and women blacken their eyelids with collyrium *kohl*. From early girlhood Meman women redden their palms fingers and finger nails and their soles and toes with henna.² Black dentrifice is also used by married women.³ The Hálâi Memans are darker and smaller than the Kachhi Memans with whom they never marry. The features of the Hálâis are not so marked as those of the Kachhis ; neither are they so regular or pleasant. It is difficult to give a typical description of a Hálâi Meman.

Character.

In business both Kachhi and Hálâi Memans are shrewd and energetic, the Kachhis with perhaps the better name for fair dealing. Socially both communities are jovial pleasure-loving and hot-tempered ; and are regarded by other Musalmâns as devout and charitable. A favourite form of Meman charity is to help poor pilgrims to Makkah, a generosity which sometimes goes the length of chartering a ship.⁴

¹ This is also a *sunnah* or traditionally meritorious act. The Prophet said : Change the whiteness of your hair, but not with anything black. (*Mishkâ-ul-Masâbih*, 360 - 362.) The first Khalîfah Abû Bakr (A.D. 632-634) used to dye his beard red with henna. Among the Regular Musalmâns who all use indigo dyes, the order is honoured in the breach.

² The practice of applying henna varies greatly. Many tinge only the finger nails and toes. Some make a stripe along the backs of their hands across the knuckles. The stain is a light orange, a deep scarlet, a dark red, and sometimes by long and frequent applications a dark much-admired olive.

³ The black dentrifice *missi* (Above page 42 note 1) together with the *kohl* and the henna are held in high respect, because they are sanctified as a toilet article by the Lady Fâtemah the Prophet's daughter. So far is this respect carried that when unwell Gujarât Musalmân women consider it sinful to use *missi*.

⁴ Fondness for secret charity is an honourable trait among rich Memans. The

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In spite of the Sindh strain in the Kachhi, and the Káthiávāda strain in the Hálái, the speech of the Kachh and Hálái Memans is fundamentally the same. The speech of the Kachhi though based upon the Kachhi dialect has so many Hálái words that the two classes understand each other with little difficulty.¹ Contact with Urdu speaking Musalmáns has given almost all Memans a colloquial knowledge of Urdu. Except a few who have a scholarly knowledge of Urdu the Meman accent and pronunciation of several words is generally incorrect.²

At present, except that the Kachhi outdoor dress is richer, Kachh and Hálái Memans wear the same kind of clothing. The original dress of the men was the Kachh or Káthiávāda *phália* or loose turban, a shirt, a jacket, trousers loose and bulging above and tight and sometimes buttoned below the knee, a white cotton silk or gold-bordered waist-cloth girt round the waist and hanging below the knee, and country-made slippers. The indoor dress was the shirt and trousers. The women dress in a robe worn over the head, the half-sleeved backless bodice and the black or navy-blue petticoat worn in the Káthiávāda style. The first changes in dress were effected after the mutinies (A.D. 1857) by their Sayads and Maulavis who objected to Musalmán women leaving exposed those parts of their person which the law ordered should be covered. Under their influence the well-to-do gave up the Hindu dress and the poor followed the example of the rich. Among men the change of dress was more gradual. At first pilgrims from Makkah took to wearing the *ámmámah* or small arched Arab turban, the *sháyáh* or loose open overcoat, the long loose shirt, and tight sleeveless waistcoat. Except that the buttons were removed, the old ankle-long trousers were continued. For some years pilgrims alone were allowed to wear this Arab dress. But by degrees the new style came into almost universal use. Though Memans are fond of costly clothes neither men nor women show taste or neatness in dress. The men are fond of gold embroidery and the women of gay colours. The chief peculiarities in the present dress of the Meman is the shortness of their turbans which consists of a few coils of some light silk or shawl

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Dress.

Meman ideal of hidden generosity was the merchant Hájí Zakariyyah (A.D. 1823 - 1840) the founder of the Zakariyyah mosque in the street of that name in Bombay City. A learned and devout Maulavi from Málwa lodging in the Zakariyyah mosque was conscious during the night that a bent old man muffled in a dirty sheet was shampooing him. The Maulavi prayed the old man to cease but he would not. The Maulavi fell asleep and in the morning found a twenty-rupee note under his bedding. As he failed to trace the giver, next night, when the old shampooer returned, the Maulavi feigned sleep and caught the old man's hand while placing a paper under his bedding. In the struggle the old man's sheet fell off revealing the honoured features of Hájí Zakariyyah who was abashed at being caught in an act of secret generosity. The paper enclosed a note for a hundred rupees. On the wrapper were the words: A tribute of respect for learning. Pray for the forgiveness of this humble instrument of Alláh's will.

¹ Among the differences in common words between Kachhi and Hálái may be noted:

English.		Kachhi.		Hálái.	
Behind.	Call.	Puthia.	SadFar.	Wanse.	Betrak.
Bread.	Fall.	Máni.	Chanipone.	Roti.	Pái.
Bring.	Father.	Giniab.	Bápá.	A'n.	Pó.

² For *ghar* house a Meman says *gar*, for *bhai* brother *bái*, for *bhadd* rent *badda*, and speaks Urdu with the Kachh or Káthiávāda accent.

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or gold-embroidered material wound over a cool airy and light straw net-work cap, a recent importation from Jáva, or a white cotton-padded Arab skullcap. In the dress of the women the leading peculiarities are the shortness of the bodice sleeves, the looseness of the silk shirt, and the tightness at the ankle and looseness above the knees of the trousers, and the liberal use of gold beads and gold or silk embroidery in the shirt.

A rich Meman's indoor dress consists of a gold-embroidered or brocade skullcap, a long shirt of thin flowered or plain muslin fastened at the neck by three or four buttons kept together by a tiny gold chain, a tightfitting sleeveless waistcoat *sadariah* of broadcloth velvet or cashmere in the cold and of white muslin or coloured silk in the hot weather, with, in front, a row of small silk buttons each with its corresponding loop, two long breast pockets and two shallow crescent-shaped waist pockets. From the long breast pocket or from between the looped fastenings peeps out a coloured silk handkerchief. The trousers are of a creamy lawn or longcloth, loose above and tight at the ankle, the edges braided. The elder and more religious wear the shorter legal trousers which end an inch or two above the ankle. Out of doors a few of the richer and younger men wear broadcloth trousers of uniform looseness reaching the ground in English fashion. Indoors except a few who wear English slippers and stockings the feet are bare. In going out a rich Meman draws over his indoor dress a *sháyah sadaryah* or over-waistcoat of the same material as the waistcoat, but unlike it rather loose and sleeved but with the skirts slit at the sides and often reaching lower than the knee. On the top of the upper waistcoat and of the same material the rich Meman draws the loose unbuttoned Arab gown or *sháyah*. He puts his feet into English shoes or red pointed country slippers. Except for its gold buttons and its collars, epaulettes, and gold or embroidered edges a rich Meman's ceremonial dress is the same as his usual outdoor dress. The headdress is the old arched Arab turban or a valuable Cashmere shawl: a full embroidered or gold-edged Banáras scarf *dupatta*, or, according to the latest fashion, a short scarf wound once or twice round a skullcap of embroidered broadcloth or silk, or, latest novelty of all, of China or Jáva straw. The middle class Meman's indoor and outdoor dress is less costly and is made of more lasting materials. He dispenses with the gown *sháyah* both on ceremonial and common occasions and sometimes, like the men of the lower middle and poor classes, goes out on pleasure and business in a skullcap with nothing over his waistcoat. On his feet he wears English boots or shoes and, as in the case of the very rich, stockings. A poor Meman wears a cotton or silk skullcap, a coarse longcloth or muslin shirt, a broadcloth silk or cashmere waistcoat and trousers of inferior longcloth or common gray shirting. Only on the I'd holidays and at marriages and public dinners does a poor Meman wear the turban or the over-waistcoat *sháyah sadaryah*. He generally wears country-made red shoes or pointed slippers.

A rich Meman woman wears the long loose half-sleeved silken chemise called *aba* of gay coloured Chinese or Indian silk fastened

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by two small buttons¹ on each side of the neck above the shoulders, embroidered at the breast and coloured with gold lace at the skirts and over the seams. The chemise is often of muslin or gauze to show the rich materials and profuse ornaments of the tight backless bodice of silk or brocade. The trousers loose above the knees and tight above the ankle are of silk of soberer hue than the chemise and richly brocaded and gold-laced down the sides and at the skirts. The usual indoor headdress is the *missar* a triangle of flowered or plain silk with one side laced or edged with gold buttons. Over the chemise out of doors or on ceremonial occasions is worn the scarf a three-yard flowered square piece of gauze *odena* or *maláya* or brown silk having gold lace edges and the seams hidden with embroidered lace. In the house with few exceptions both Kachh and Halái Memans keep the feet bare, slippers being occasionally worn. On going out a rich Meman lady of either class draws over her dress the *Maláya*² or Malacca brown silken sheet with gold lace seams or fringes. On their feet the Halái women whether rich or poor never wear stockings and often not slippers, while out of doors the Kachhis always wear stockings and shoes of Afghán leather. On occasions of ceremony Meman ladies in addition to their indoor dress wear a scarf round the neck, the scarf chemise and trousers being more richly embroidered with seed-pearls and gold lace than is the practice among other Sunni ladies. Halái Meman ladies are lavish of gold and silver ornaments and sparing of jewels. This is less notable among Kachh Memans many of whom have complete sets of valuable jewels. Neither Haláis nor Kachhis wear any sign of mourning. Except that she wears no nose-stud *sith* and does not attend marriages or other festive gatherings a widow is not expected to conform to mourning rules.

Though great eaters and fond of good cheer, the Memans according to Musalmán ideas are indifferent cooks and somewhat coarse feeders. The corpulence of most middle-aged Memans of the well-to-do class is due in great measure to the large quantity of clarified butter *ghi* they accustom themselves to take from childhood. Four dishes, originally from north Gujarát, are much prized by Memans. These are: A stew of rice and sheep-bones with *ghi* called *hadda puláo* or bone-stew by the Kachhis and *mindrája* or royal dish by the Haláis. The second, their favourite at the evening meal, is a blend of rice and black gram *múng* *Phaseolus mungo* known as *múng ki khichadi*. The blend is taken in two forms. First, to the rice and pulse are added as much *ghi* as the mess can bear without dripping, and with this is taken curds whey pulse-biscuits or mango pickle. When this is over some of the blend is mixed with a cup of milk and supped like milk-pudding or porridge. The third is a stew of fish and Indian horse radish *seka* *Moringa pterygospermum* beans or fish and *bhendi* *Hibiscus esculentus*. The fourth called *muthia* or fist-cakes by the

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CONVERTS.
TRADERS.
Memans.
Dress.

Food.

¹ The position of the buttons is one of the two main differences between a Meman and a Khojáh woman's dress. The chemise of the Khojáh lady has its buttons in the middle of the chest below the neck, the Meman lady's chemise has a button over each shoulder.

² The word is Arabic showing that the article of dress was borrowed by the Arabs from the country which gave it its name.

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Memans.
Beliefs.

Kachhis and *dokris* or thick-cakes by the Háláris, is of pulse with pieces of salted fish and lumps of rice and millet bread roasted or steamed with spices and *ghi*.

Memans, both Kachhis and Háláris, are Sunnis of the Hanafi school to which most of the Indian and Turkish Musalmáns belong. As a class Memans are religious, though some of them, especially the Kachhis keep to early non-Muslim social usages. The most notable of these non-Islamic customs is their refusal, like their ancestors the Loháns,¹ to allow their daughters and widows any inheritance.² So careful are the Memans to perform the pilgrimage to Makkah that about forty per cent of their number have the honourable prefix of *Háji* or pilgrim. As soon as he has laid by money enough a Meman takes his wife and sometimes very young children, and, undaunted by the dangers of the voyage, for He who cares for him at home will guard him on the way to His House, starts for Makkah and, if he can afford it, Madinah. If he has wealth and leisure, the Meman pilgrim visits Baghdád to worship at the shrine of his patron saint Maulána Abdal Kádir Gílání. For those who have made or are unable to make the great pilgrimage several Indian shrines are usually visited, in Gujarát the shrine of Sháh Alam at Ahmedábád and the spirit-scaring tomb of Mírán Sayad Ali Dátár at Unja about fifty-six miles north of Ahmedábád. Since the opening of the Rájputána Railway the Meman from Gujarát and Bombay has become a constant visitor at the death-day fairs or *uras* of Khájah Muín-ud-dín Chishti of Ajmer. Like other Sunnis the Meman's belief in magic and sorcery centres in the traditional maxim "Magic is true, but he who practices magic is an infidel."³ To the practice of white magic, soothsaying *fál kholna*, and the procuring of luck-charms and amulets they have like other Musalmáns no objection. They also believe in astrology and consult astrologers, a practice condemned by the Prophet. Their advisers in soothsaying and witchcraft are poor Sayads.⁴ The present

¹ See Borradaile's Caste Rules, 903-904.

² As has been noticed at page 47 note 1 in A.D. 1847 a case occurred which shows how firmly the Memans cling to their original tribal customs. The widow of Háji Núr Muhammad of the Zakariyyá family demanded a share of her deceased husband's property. The *jámá-át* or community decided that a widow had no claim to share her husband's estate. Before the High Court in spite of the ridicule of other Sunnis, the elders of the Kachhi Memans declared that their caste-rules denied the widow's claim. The matter caused and is still (A.D. 1896) causing agitation as the doctors of the Sunni law at Makkah have decided that as the law of inheritance is laid down by the Holy Kurán, a wilful departure from it is little short of apostacy. The Memans are contemplating a change. So far they have not found themselves able to depart from their tribal practice.

³ *Jádú bar hakk hai, magar uska karné wala Káfir.*

⁴ A Meman's wife the mother of several children dies. After a decent interval the Meman marries again. The new wife sickens and her ailment does not yield to the common home treatment employed by her mother or mother-in-law. She is advised to resort to *alá chhalá* or spirit-treatment. On going to bed the sick woman lays some grains of rice and either five coppers, or a two or four-anna silver piece with a copper under her pillow and in the morning by a servant or poor female relative sends the rice and money to some cunning Sayad or exorcist. The Sayad takes the grains of rice, hears the account of the illness, breathes on the rice and blows a prayer on the copper or silver. He says: The spirit of a dead woman is in this coin. Had the lady's lord a former wife, and did the wife die? "True words" replies the lady's emissary. Then the sickness is the haunting of the troubled spirit of the former wife. But, objects the messenger,

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religious head of the Kachhi Memans, the nineteenth in descent from Pír Eúsufuddín, lives at Mundra about forty miles east of Mándvi in Kachh. He pays his followers a yearly or two-yearly visit when a money subscription called *kheda* from Rs. 2 to Rs. 200 is gathered from every Meman family and paid to the Pír. Memans also honour the Bukhári Sayads of Ahmedádád. Besides a high priest living usually at Sarchind in the Panjáb and visiting his Gujarát followers about once every five years the Háláis have a provincial head or Mukhi who lives at Dhoráji in Káthiáwár. This man has power to hear and pass orders in petty marriage and divorce and sometimes in inheritance cases.

Except a small body of craftsmen Memans are traders merchants dealers or shopkeepers in any branch of commerce except intoxicants and other traffic which is forbidden to the followers of Islám. As shopkeepers and miscellaneous dealers next to the Jámnnagar Bohorás, the Memans are perhaps the most numerous and certainly the most successful among Musalmáns. They owe their success in business to their freedom from display and their close and personal attention to and keen interest in business. The richest Meman merchant does not disdain to do what a Pársi merchant of his position would leave to his clerks. Their hope and courage are also excellent endowments. They engage without fear in any promising new branch of trade and are daring in their ventures, a trait partly inherited from their Lohána ancestors and partly due to their faith in the luck which their saint's favour secures them. Except what they borrow for trade purposes, Memans with rare exceptions are free from debt. They are careful generally to conform to the Islámie injunction against lending money at interest, though in the complicated accounts of large foreign firms interest on capital may not altogether be excluded. Though they have lately begun to teach their boys English, Memans as a class are averse from the higher education. Most Meman girls have a fair knowledge of Hindustani and are well grounded in religious matters.

Sa'balia's. See DUDWALÁS.

my mistress is very good to the children of the deceased. 'It is not the children' returns the wise one (the *Siyána* as the exorcist is called by women). 'Has your mistress observed the death-day of the late wife? Perhaps she does not even know it. Tell your mistress that when she possesses the love of the dead lady's lord and is mistress of all that once was hers it is but a light tribute to feed five Sayads or poor men on curds rice and pulse-porridge on the former wife's death day.' The friend brings back the Sayad's message. The Sayad is called. The sick woman sits in front of him unveiled. The Sayad burns frankincense, cuts a lime or two, mumbles over a nail and hammers it into the threshold. Either then or after the cure is completed he is paid from Rs. 1½ to Rs. 5½. Sometimes the Sayad does not consider this enough and while leaving asks his patient to send him a white china plate every morning. On the plate the Sayad traces in saffron ink either some squares with certain figures or writes the most potent and effective of all spirit and magic charms, the 113th chapter of the Kuraán, the Throne Verse, which runs: "Allah! there is no God but he, the living, the self-subsisting; neither slumber nor sleep seizeth him. To him belongeth whatever is in heaven and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with him except by his will? He knoweth their present and their past, and they encompass nothing of his knowledge except so far as he pleaseth. His throne is spread over heaven and earth, and the keeping of both burdens him not. He is the high, the mighty." The patient has to dissolve the writing or figures in water or rosewater and drink it. Sometimes a charm is written on paper to be dissolved and drunk or to be worn in a silver case round the neck or arm.

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CONVERTS.
LANDHOLDERS.
Makwa'na's.

have regular features and large black eyes. To look at both men and women in no way differ from Makwána Kolis. Their home language is Hindustáni. The men wear large loosely-wound turbans *phália*, jackets, tight trousers, and common native shoes. The women wear a black robe *sádi* or *jhími*, a loose bodice, a petticoat, and slippers. They earn their living as petty landlords, peasants, messengers, and constables. They are clean, blunt, idle, fond of opium and spirits, quarrelsome, hospitable, and extravagant. Except in poor families the women do not appear in public. Though many of them are in debt and none of them are rich, as a class they are not badly off. They are Sunnis in faith but as a rule care little for their religion. Their sons marry either into Musalmán, Makwána, or Koli families; their daughters into Musalmán families of the Makwána, Bábi, or Dholka Pathán tribes. They employ a Bráhmaṇ priest at their weddings. They are said to form a distinct community, but have little organization and no headman. They do not send their children to school.

Maliks.

Maliks, Lords, are converted Hindus and found all over Gujarát. As a class they are tall and fair with good features. Their home tongue is Gujaráti in the north and Hindustáni in the south. Of the men, some dress like Káthis with big turbans, tight jackets, trousers, and a waistcloth. Others wear the common Muhammadan dress. The women dress in the north like Hindus and in the south like ordinary Muhammadans. They are landlords and peasants, and are employed in Government service as messengers and constables. The women spin but do not work in the field. Though clean tidy and honest, they are idle thrifless and given to opium. As a class especially those of north Gujarát, they are a byword for folly and want of sense. The women do not appear in public. They are poor, many of them in debt. They are Sunnis in name but are not religious, few of them knowing the Kuraán or caring to say their prayers. In their marriage and other customs they do not differ from other converted Rajpúts.¹

Matia
Kanbis.

Matia³ Kanbis, Believers, are found in Kaira and in twenty-two villages of north Surat, between the Ambika and Tápti rivers. By descent Hindus of the Leva Kanbi caste, they are followers of Imám Sháh, the saint of Pirána near Ahmedábád, who, about the middle of the fifteenth century, meeting them on their way to Banáras,³ worked such wonders that they took him to be their spiritual guide. They also believe in Sindhsáh, probably Núr Satágur, the first Isma'li missionary to India (A.D. 1237), whose shrine is at Navsári in Surát, and in a *Pirzáda* of Burhánpur. In describing⁴ the revolt of the Broach Matias⁵ in A.D. 1691 the Mirát-i-Ahmedi says: The Momnás

¹ See Rajpúts page 62.

² The origin of the word Matia is doubtful. According to one story they are so called because they belong to the monastery *math* at Pirána; according to another the word comes from *mat* opinion, perhaps the believing Kanbis. Colonel Walker's derivation of Molesalam from *Mutl-ul-Islam* Submissive to Islám, seems to explain the word Matia and not the word Molesalam (Below page 68).

³ Details given under Momnás.

⁴ Persian Text, I. 338.

⁵ The Mirat-i-Ahmedi calls them Mêtás or Matias. Persian Text, I. 338.

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of Ahmedábád and the Khojáhs of Sorath are offshoots of the main Nazárian stock. The Matíás are a tribe who inhabit also the districts of Khándesh and Baglána and engage themselves in agricultural pursuits. Those living in the Súba of Ahmedábád (Gujarát) are called Momnás and those who live in Sorath are called Khojáhs. Being converted by Sayad Imám-ud-dín they belong to a number of Hindu classes who entered Islám under his guidance. They have such faith in their religious teachers that they give a tenth part of whatever their yearly earnings may be to their spiritual guide. They carry this rule to so extreme an extent that if any of them has ten children he is bound either to present one of his children to the Sayad or to fix and pay the Sayad a money value or ransom for the child. Their large revenues derived from their followers enable the saints to enjoy a high degree of ease and splendour. So entirely do the saints look upon their *Muríds* (spiritual followers) as a source of revenue that the Sayads when marrying their daughters give away a number of their followers to them as part of their dower. Some Momnás remain members of their caste being Hindus in everything but religion. When Sayad Sháhji one of the descendants of Imám-ud-dín (A.D. 1691) succeeded his father in the spiritual headship of the Matíás so many thousands of his followers presented themselves at his place of residence, Karamthah near Ahmedábád, asking to be admitted to his presence that he could hardly find a moment of privacy and sometimes used to stretch out his foot from behind the curtain. The belief of his followers was so sincere that they used to consider even this act of their *Pir* a great condescension and used to kiss the saint's foot and place their offerings of money near it and retire satisfied and happy.¹ In the days of Hazrat Khuld Makáni (Aurangzib A.D. 1658-1707) much attention began to be given to the Muhammadan Law and to the rooting out of dissent. Most men adopted very strait religious views to become popular with the emperor and accused the Matíás and their spiritual guide of being Ráfizis (Shiáhs). A few of the accused were thrown into prison. Some one reported to the emperor an account of Sayad Sháhji and his religion and ways. Aurangzib ordered an enquiry to be held and the spiritual guide was ordered to present himself before the *Kázi* at Ahmedábád. Being unwilling to attend Sayad Sháhji took poison and died. This inflamed the anger of his followers and to revenge his death a large number of Matíás crossed the Narbada and took Bharúch killing the Faujdár. They were destroyed by Mubáriz Bábi and Nazarali Khán the lieutenants of Shujaát Khán the viceroy of Gujarát, but not until they had made a most gallant stand willingly preferring death to defeat and captivity. Neither in food nor in dress do they differ from Hindus. All are cultivators, the same in character and condition as other Leva Kanb's. They call Bráhmans to all their chief ceremonies, and except that the Pírána saint is their spiritual guide, that they help to support and go to visit his tomb, and that they bury their

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HINDU
CONVERTS
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Matia
Kanbis.

¹ Blind belief in the spiritual guide is one of the necessary conditions of the Súfi religion, one of the doctrines of which is *Piri mál khas ast itikadi mál bas ast Our* saint is straw, our belief is everything.

² Letter of 12th Feb 1805 in Bom. Gov. Pol. Rec. 45 of 1805.

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HINDU
CONVERTS.
LANDHOLDERS.
Molesala'ns.

dead, their customs are Hindu. Their peculiar views have separated them from other Kanbis, and as they marry only among themselves they form a distinct body.

Molesala'ns, found chiefly in Broach and in the Rewa Kántha, are half converts to Islám, made from among Rajpúts, chiefly in the reign of Mahmúd Begada (A.D. 1459-1513). Of the name several interpretations have been given. According to Colonel Walker² (A.D. 1805), the word is a corruption of *Muti-ül-Islám* Submissive to the faith, applied to the Girásiás in reproach, implying that they are merely passive Musalmáns professing the faith of Islám while practising the rites of their ancestors. Again the word *Maula* means master as well as slave. Taking it to mean master the rendering would be 'Masters in Islám,' like Khojáh or Lord, a case of the grant to converts of an honourable title. The third explanation is that during the first days of the success of Islám it was the custom that when an infidel was converted to Islám by a Musalmán that infidel was called the *Maula* of the converter.¹ When Mahmúd Begada converted these people to Islám, being a sincere and devoted Musalmán, in preference to calling his converts Maulas of Mahmúd he called them Maulas of Islám. The explanation given by Mr. Forbes² in the Rás Málá is that Rajpúts who were put out of caste in the time of Mahmúd Begada formed a separate class called 'Molesalám' because they had bowed or made *salám* to the *mehel* or palace of the Sultán. The Molesalám Thákors of Ámod and Kerváda in Broach claim descent from Jádav Rajpúts who were converted by Mahmúd Begada in A.D. 1486. Of the four derivations the second, namely that it means Masters in Islám, seems the most likely to be correct.

Molesalám thákors and chiefs, while employing Káz's Sayads and Maulawis, maintain the descendants of their old Bráhma family priests and support their Bháts and Chárans, whom the rich engage to while away their leisure hours by reciting poetry and the poor to serve as priests at marriages. A Molesalám will marry his daughter to a Sayad a Sheikh a Moghal or a Bábi, but not, as a rule, to a Musalmán of the lower order. The son of a chief may get a Rajpút girl in marriage. But other Molesaláms marry either among their own people or the poorer class of Musalmáns. Indoors a Molesalám wears a waistcloth; out of doors a turban coat and trousers, with, like a Rajpút, a cloth wound round the waist or thrown over the shoulders. Women wear a robe *sállá*, a bodice, and a petticoat. Molesaláms dine with other Musalmáns, but except that they sometimes take flesh, they eat and drink like Hindus.

Parma'rs.

Parma'rs are Rajpút converts. There is no record of the date of their conversion to Islám but they are referred to as having been already Islámised in A.D. 1317 when Mubárah Sháh formed his disreputable

¹ See Ibní Khallikán (Wafát-ul-Aayán) Arab. Text 37, where in the biographical sketch of Al Isbaháni, the famous Háfiz or Kuraán reciter and historian, the author says that Al Isbaháni's first ancestor who became a convert to Islám was one Míhrán who joined Islám as a *Maula* of Abdullah son of Muááwiyah.

² Rás Málá, I. 343.

GUJARAT POPULATION.

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CRAFTSMEN.
Mania'rs.

are fair and goodlooking. The home tongue of some is Gujaráti and to others Kachhi. The men wear a large loose turban, a coat, and a waistcloth, or very loose trousers of striped cotton cloth. The women in north Gujarát and Káthiáwár dress like Hindus, generally wearing a black robe to set off their fair skins. They make bracelets and other ivory articles. The women do house work. The men are quiet hardworking and thrifty. They are well-to-do and able to save. Sunnis in religion, some know the Kuraán and are careful to say their prayers. They have no spiritual guide, but reverence Sháh Alam the well-known Ahmedábád saint. Like the Ghánchis, the women sing wedding songs, and at deaths beat the breast and wail. They marry only among themselves, and form a separate union with a headman. Few teach their children Gujaráti and none English. Some of the Gujarát Maniárs have risen to great wealth in the ivory trade in Bombay.

Momna's.

Momna's, properly *Momins* Believers, are found in considerable numbers all over Gujarat. They are the descendants of Hindus of many castes, converted¹ to the Shiáh form of faith by different members of the family of Ismáília Sayads, of whom Imámsháh (A.D. 1449) of Pirána² is the most distinguished. Though from their head-quarters known as Rádhanpuri Dhándhári or Pálanpuri, and from their more immediate religious guides known as Masháikhsháhi Núrsháhi and Mahmúdsháh, all are Imámsháhi Musalmáns. With the Matías of Khándesh, the Gujarát Momnás, about the close of the seventeenth century (A.D. 1691), rose in revolt, taking, and for some time holding the city of Broach.³ The men are short, rather stout, fair, and well-featured. Most of them shave the head and wear the beard; but the Ahmedábád sect spare the Hindu topknot, and shave the face except the upper lip. The women are well-made and fair with regular features. The men of the Ahmedábád sect wear the Vánia turban and in every part of their dress copy the Hindus. Other men wear a three-cornered Muhammadan turban and coat, and either the Hindu waistcloth or trousers so loose as to give them the name of *ghágharia* or petticoated Bohorás.⁴ The women, except a few in Surat, dress like Hindus. Almost all eat flesh, but for fear of offending the Hindus, whose wishes their position as weavers forces them to humour, they do not use it at their public dinners. The men are silk and cotton weavers,

¹ Of their conversion two stories are told, one, that Imám Sháh by bringing rain after two seasons of scarcity, converted a large body of Hindu cultivators. The other that a band of pilgrims were passing Pirána on their way to Banáras. Imám Sháh offered to take them there. They agreed and in a trice were in the holy city. They paid their vows, bathed in the Ganges, and awoke to find themselves in Pirána.

² Pirána is ten miles south-east of Ahmedábád. Details of the Pirána tombs are given in the Ahmedábád Statistical Account under Pirána. There are five chief tombs: Imámsháh's, worshipped it is said chiefly by Hindus; Bála Muhammad's, worshipped by the Shaikhs or Shaikhidás; Surábhá's, worshipped by Rabáris and other Hindus; Bákar Ali's, worshipped chiefly by Hindus; and the tomb of Núrsháh the direct head of the Núrsháhi Momnás. Masháikh, who gives his name to the Masháikhsháhi Momnás is buried at Ahmedábád, and the tomb of the leader of the Mahmúdsháhi is at Bhadiád near Dholera.

³ Watson's Gujarat History, 82.

⁴ For other cases of the general use of Bohora see Above page 24.

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dyers, cloth-dealers, and husbandmen. In Kaira and other parts of north Gujarát many of the weavers are said to have once been husbandmen. The women weave and prepare thread. Not over-honest or truthful they are hardworking, sober, tidy, and almost niggardly in their thrift. The women appear in public. The Momnás are Shiáhs in faith. Except the Ahmedábád sect, they read Kutb-ud-dín's Gujaráti Kuraán, and as a prayer repeat their saint's name. The Ahmedábád sect, instead of the Kuraán, read Imámsháh's book of religious rules and some of them are said stealthily to worship Hindu gods. Many Momnás who are Shiáhs at heart profess to be Sunnis. But there would seem to be in Surat a small body of Momnás who really belong to the orthodox faith. These have lately separated though they still intermarry with their Shiáh connections. All practise circumcision and bury the dead. In other matters the customs of the Ahmedábád sect differ considerably from those of regular Muslims. Hindu names are common in north Gujarát though rare in the south, and while with ordinary Momnás marriages take place according to the Musalmán rules, the Ahmedábád sect, in addition to the Musalmán marriage, call in a Bráhmaṇ and go through the Hindu ceremony.¹ In north Gujarát, among all Momnás marriage takes place at a very early age, sometimes before the children are weaned, and they follow the Hindu practice of holding a high festival when the bride comes of age and goes to live with her husband. At deaths, like Hindus, the women wail and beat the breast. Except the Ahmedábád sect, all Momnás intermarry, the Kázi of ordinary Musalmáns performing the ceremony. Each settlement has its union, headman, and code of rules which are generally well kept. Among Pálanpur Momnás serious disputes are referred to the spiritual guide at Pálanpur, to whom every adult pays a yearly tax of Rs. 1½. They teach their children Gujaráti and some in Surat English. None of them have risen to any high position.

Mu'ta'nis and **Mu'ta'ni Mochis**, Shoemakers from Multán, are found in all the chief cities of Gujarát. Escaping from North India, probably on the occasion of one of the early Muhammadan invasions, they settled in Gujarát and were, according to their own account, converted to Islám during the reign of Mahmúd Begada (A.D. 1459-1513). People calling themselves Múltánis sell dry fish and fuel and petty grocery in Násik. These according to General Briggs (Transac. Lity. Socy. Bombay. Vol. I. page 193) emigrated from Multán in A.D. 1739 when Nádir Sháh invaded India and they followed Ásuf Jáh the Nizám to the Dakhan. In the north of Gujarát there are Múltáni Patháns or simply Múltánis who add the title Khán to their names and are soldiers tailors or servants. The heaviness of their faces and bodies may be taken as a proof of their northern origin. As far as possible they marry among themselves. They say they came originally from Múltán. The north Gujarát Múltánis speak Hindustáni. The men dress like middle-class Musalmáns, the

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HINDU
CONVERTS.
CRAFTSMEN.
Momna's.

Mu'ta'nis
and Mu'ta'ni
Mochis.

¹ Among Mahi Kántha and Parántij Momnás the practise noticed by Mr. Melvill in 1827 (Bom. Gov. Sel. X. 9) of having a marriage ceremony performed by a Bráhmaṇ is still kept. The Ahmedábád sect intermarry with the Parántij Momnás, and when such has been the custom in the bride's family the Hindu marriage is performed.

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